1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

process of discovering the meaning of each one of the ritual acts gave us an idea of the ritual idiom of Coorgs.

Solidarity rites are performed on the subject of *mangala*, and each *mangala* marks a change in the subject's social personality. Thus the ear-boring *mangala* marked the attainment of adulthood by a youth. His social personality altered again at marriage as he then acquired new rights and duties.

A man who killed a panther or tiger in a hunt was entitled to *mangala* being performed. A man who had built a new house performed *mané* or house *mangala*, at which *mūrta* was performed to him.

Polé kaṇḍa mangala was performed to a girl some time after she had attained puberty. This corresponded to a boy's ear-boring *mangala*. Marriage is another *mangala* occasion for her and, formerly, *mangala* was performed to her in the fifth or seventh month of her first pregnancy. This marked the attainment of the status of a mother by her. Motherhood is a valued status, and a woman who gave birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was the subject of a *mangala* ceremony known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

A child is ritually given a name on the eleventh day of birth, but this does not constitute a *mangala* as the child does not count socially till either the ear-boring or puberty *mangala* has been performed.

Mangala is confined to auspicious occasions, and this is the reason why the ritual disposal of a corpse does not assume the form of a *mangala*.

Mangala carries with it the approval of society. This is brought out clearly in certain cases. For instance, the marriage of a widow does not constitute a *mangala*, while the marriage of a widower does. This is because Coorgs, like Brahmins and other high castes, do not approve of the marriage of a widow. But in the case of Coorgs the disapproval is not sufficiently strong to prohibit altogether the marriage of a widow, as it is among the Brahmins.

When a man killed a panther, *mangala* was performed for him on the village green (*ūr mandu*), whereas it was performed for him on the *nāḍ* green if he killed a tiger. Killing a tiger is worthy of more honour than killing a panther.

When the youthful hero Kaiyandira Appayya killed the great fighter Chōndu and thus restored the prestige of Kaḍiyetnāḍ, the general approval with which Appayya's action was regarded expressed itself in a *mangala* being performed for him.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

first husband's sib are extinguished with the formulas given in Appendix I, and in her father's house she is given to her new husband with the sammanda ceremony. A woman regains a permanent place in her original sib only by divorce. This may happen if she is grossly and persistently immoral or if she and her husband are continually at odds with one another (the former is much the more usual cause). In such cases the aruvēs of the two families (see ref. [1], p. 130) negotiate between the two parties and if both families agree to a divorce, the woman relinquishes all claims to a place in her husband's sib and may never regain it by another marriage into that sib. She regains a place in her father's sib and keeps it, unless as rarely happens she should be sought in marriage by another man from another sib. My informant emphasized significantly that the woman is readmitted to her original sib not automatically but only if the sib is persuaded to agree to it. In the sammanda ceremony by a piece of symbolism the woman retains the right of readmission to her original sib. The aruvē of the groom's party is given by her party eleven out of twelve pebbles; the remaining one is kept by her sib. This right to readmission is exercised in case of divorce or of remarriage if her first husband dies. It carries with it only one other right in her father's sib, viz. if she should die in the house of her parents and the burial-ground of her husband's sib should be at an inconvenient distance, she may be buried in that of her father's sib. Children by a woman's first husband always remain members of his sib, whether or not she leaves it by divorce or remarriage into another sib. If at the time of her leaving her husband's sib any children should be too young to fend for themselves, she may retain charge of them until they attain an age when they can care for themselves, when they return to the house of their own sib.

Marriage is forbidden also between a couple who are related to one another by descent through females only from a common female ancestor. There is not however among the Coorgs the same division of the people among female lines that I have elsewhere described for the Todas.[1] It seems probable from my informant's accounts that the relationships in female lines tend to be remembered for a comparatively small number of generations and even in some cases to be neglected when they are remembered, if it is considered that the degree of relationship is not close enough to hinder marriage. What degree would be considered distant enough to allow of intermarriage I could not elicit with any accuracy, but it seems that three or four degrees might be sufficiently distant, i.e. a relationship that is traced back through females to a common great-grandmother or great-great-grandmother. The proverb quoted in the fifth paragraph below refers also to this type of marriage.

[1] American Anthropologist, 39, 103–112.

[P. 45]

CHAPTER VIII

COORG (Contd.)

IN the absence of a male issue in a house, a daughter is retained and married to a Coorg on condition that the children born are considered as the children of the wife's, and not of the husband's house. Such a husband may have another wife with children in his own house, and these have no share in the property of the other wife. Polygamy is not forbidden, but is seldom practised 858 857 595

It is worthy of note that the Coorgs have no priest to preside over the wedding ceremony. There are no religious functions such as those prevailing among the higher Hindu castes. There are some magical acts, which are related here. The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered into the hands of her husband. She eats with him on the wedding day to create community of life. Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. It referred to the permanent joint life of man and woman, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart It is considered as a token of blessing. In many cases, it seems to have developed into a sympathetic mode of fertility. At one stage of the wedding, the bride veiled approaches the husband, and they see each other. These ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil. Besides there is sexual shyness, and the ideas associated with women that these are dangerous as well as improper, and so they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly, the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men who in the marriage institution are respectively called bridesmaids and groomsmen. 585 [793]

Polyandry

It has been observed that, in warlike races, the clannish feeling and family spirit often predominate over and absorb individual consciousness and personal rights. Among the Coorgs, family property descends not from father to son, as from generation to generation the eldest member acts as the head of the house. In olden times, the Coorgs are said to have lived in a state of general warfare, chief against chief, and Nadu against Nadu. As a relic of that age, the deep trenches which to this day are found intersecting the country in all directions may be considered. In such an age, destruction of life must have been great. But it was of course the male community that principally suffered in the turmoil. The people must soon 174 726 595 [428]